

Doc. No. 220C(28)

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Br. Ex. 173

MINORITIES OF A CONVERSATION

Excerpts

(WASHINGTON) May 28, 1941

.....

The Ambassador commented that under the Japanese constitutional system other ministers in addition to the Foreign Minister are consulted in matters relating to foreign policy.

The Secretary said that in his consideration of the matters we have been exploring a difficulty has been presented by questions involving the relations of our respective countries toward the European war. Mr. Matsuke since his return from Europe, according to reports widely published in the press, has been making declarations on every occasion in regard to Japan's obligations under the Tripartite Alliance in the matter of supporting Germany in the event of American entry into the war. He said that, if we went into an agreement with Japan, critics would assert, unless the Japanese Government could clarify its attitude toward its obligations under the Tripartite Alliance in the event that the United States should be drawn into the European war through action in the line of self-defense, that there was no assurance as to Japan's position. The Secretary referred to the President's speech of the previous evening and reviewed what the Secretary had previously said publicly and also to the Ambassador in regard to the attitude of this country toward maintaining the freedom of the seas against Hitler as an essential measure of self-defense.

.....

The Secretary then brought up the question of the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China and asked the Ambassador to indicate what the Japanese Government had in mind.

.....

The Ambassador indicated, in reply to specific questions, that such evacuation would not include troops retained in China under the provision of cooperative defense against communistic activities. He contemplated an arrangement being negotiated with China similar to the Boxer Protocol under which Japanese troops would be stationed for an indefinite period in North China and Inner Mongolia. The Ambassador said he could not indicate approximately how many troops it was proposed to station in China under such an arrangement or define precisely the areas in which the arrangement would be operative.

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The Secretary commented that it seemed to him important that relations between China and Japan should be adjusted on a basis which would offer permanent promise of friendship between the two countries; that the continued presence of Japanese troops in China would be a factor operating against such friendship, as the presence of these troops tended to produce incidents and friction;

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會談覚書

(ワシントン)一九四一年(昭和十六年)五月廿八日(抜萃)

大使は日本の憲法制度では外交政策に關係あるものは外務大臣の外に他の大臣に相談するに及んでゐると説明した。

國務長官は彼の考へる所では右々は欧米戦争に対する日米兩國の關係を含む種々の問題から生じた困難を探究し來てゐると述べた。新近に廣く発表された報道に依れば松本氏は歐洲から歸つて以來凡そ機會を捉へてアメリカが戦争に参加した場合三國同盟に基いて船隻を援助するといふ日本の義務に關し聲明を發してゐる。彼は若し我が國が日本と協定を結んだとして山アメリカが防空防衛の限に留つた行動をヨーロッパ戦争に捲き込まれる場合に若しも日本政府が三國同盟に基く義務に対する態度をすつてゐる事が出来ないのであれば日本の地位には何等保護がなされて

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くまふと批評家は確言するであらうと述べてゐる。

長官は大統領の演説に於ける演説に言及し

又且つ自分が公に及び同大使に述べたものありことを

防衛の重要手段としてヒトラーに對抗する航海の自由

を維持するに因するアメリカの態度を批評する

のである。

.....

それから長官は日本の中華民国撤兵問題を取り

上げ大使に日本政府の考えを示すやう依頼する

.....

大使は此の特殊な問に答へて所帯な撤兵は吾等

主義活動に對する共同防衛の規約に基き

中國に駐屯せしめてある軍隊は含まないと述べて

彼は望海條約に似た協定が中華民国と交渉さ

2 れるべあらう事を豫期する。その協定に依れば

華北及び内蒙古に日本軍が各期限に駐屯される

事となる。所が協定に依り大凡どの位の軍隊が

中國に駐屯されるかを企てられぬ事を暗示する

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も出来なければ又その地域にこの協定が効力を生ず
るかを詳細に説明することは出来ないと大使は語
らうである。

長官は日華関係が兩國の友誼を永久に約束す
様な基礎の上に整へられねばならぬといふが、自分には
重要な事に思はれるし又日本の軍が引退き、中國に
駐屯するものは、仲騷擾を起し易いから、新様な
友誼に対し悪い影響を及ぼす因にならうであら
うと批評する。

外交関係Ⅱ、四四〇—四四三頁。

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AMERICAN DRAFT PROPOSAL HANDED TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR
(NOTUL) ON MAY 31, 1941Unofficial, Exploratory
and without Commitment

(WASHINGTON) May 31, 1941.

The Governments of the United States and of Japan accept joint responsibility for the initiation and conclusion of a general agreement of understanding as expressed in a joint declaration.

Without reference to specific causes of recent estrangement, it is the sincere desire of both Governments that the incidents which led to the deterioration of amicable sentiment between their countries should be prevented from recurrence and corrected in their unforeseen and unfortunate consequences.

It is our present hope that, by a cooperative effort, the United States and Japan may contribute effectively toward establishment and preservation of peace in the Pacific area; and, by the rapid consummation of an amicable understanding, arrest, if not dispel, the tragic confusion that now threatens to engulf civilization.

For such decisive action, protracted negotiations would seem ill-suited and weakening. Both Governments, therefore, desire that adequate instrumentalities should be developed for the realization of a general understanding which would bind, meanwhile, both Governments in honor and in act.

It is the belief of the two Governments that such an understanding should comprise only the pivotal issues of urgency and not the accessory concerns which could be deliberated at a conference.

Both governments presume to anticipate that they could achieve harmonious relations if certain situations and attitudes were clarified or improved; to wit:

1. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.
3. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.
4. Commerce between both nations.
5. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.
6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.
7. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

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Accordingly, the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan have come to the following mutual understanding and declaration of policy:

I. The Concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.

Both governments affirm that their national policies are directed toward the foundation of a lasting peace and the inauguration of a new era of reciprocal confidence and cooperation among our peoples.

Both Governments declare that it is their traditional, and present, concept and conviction that nations and races compose, as members of a family, one household; each equally enjoying rights and admitting responsibilities with a mutuality of interests regulated by peaceful processes and directed to the pursuit of their moral and physical welfare, which they are bound to defend for themselves as they are bound not to destroy for others; they further admit their responsibilities to oppose the oppression or exploitation of other nations.

Both Governments are firmly determined that their respective traditional concepts on the character of nations and the underlying moral principles of social order and national life will continue to be preserved and never transformed by foreign ideas or ideologies contrary to those moral principles and concepts.

II. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.

The Government of Japan maintains that the purpose of the Tripartite Pact was, and is, defensive and is designed to prevent the participation of nations in the European war not at present involved in it. Obviously, the provisions of the Pact do not apply to involvement through acts of self-defense.

The Government of the United States maintains that its attitude toward the European hostilities is and will continue to be determined solely and exclusively by considerations of protection and self-defense; its national security and the defense thereof.

III. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

The Japanese Government having communicated to the Government

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of the United States the general terms within the framework of which the Japanese Government will propose the negotiation of a peaceful settlement with the Chinese Government, which terms are declared by the Japanese Government to be in harmony with the Kono principles regarding neighborly friendship and mutual respect of sovereignty and territories and with the practical application of those principles, the President of the United States will suggest to the Government of China that the Government of China and the Government of Japan enter into a negotiation on a basis mutually advantageous and acceptable for a termination of hostilities and resumption of peaceful relations.

NOTE: (The foregoing draft of Section III is subject to further discussion of the question of cooperative defense against communistic activities, including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory.)

IV. Commerce between both nations.

When official approbation to the present understanding has been given by both Governments, the United States and Japan shall assure each other mutually to supply such commodities as are, respectively, available and required by either of them. Both Governments further consent to take necessary steps to resume normal trade relations as formerly established under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan. If a new commercial treaty is desired by both Governments, it would be negotiated as soon as possible and be concluded in accordance with usual procedures.

V. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.

On the basis of mutual pledges hereby given that Japanese activity and American activity in the Pacific area shall be carried on by peaceful means and in conformity with the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations, the Japanese Government and the Government of the United States agree to cooperate each with the other toward obtaining non-discriminatory access by Japan and by the United States to commercial supplies of natural resources (such as oil, rubber, tin, nickel) which each country needs for the safeguarding and development of its own economy.

VI. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

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The Japanese Government and the Government of the United States declare that the controlling policy underlying this understanding is peace in the Pacific area; that it is their fundamental purpose, through cooperative effort, to contribute to the maintenance and the preservation of peace in the Pacific area; and that neither has territorial designs in the area mentioned.

VII. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

The Government of Japan declares its willingness to enter at such time as the Government of the United States may desire into negotiation with the Government of the United States with a view to the conclusion of a treaty for the neutralization of the Philippine Islands, when Philippine independence shall have been achieved.

(Annex 1)

ANNEX AND SUPPLEMENT ON THE PART OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

III. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

The basic terms as referred to in the above section are as follows:

1. Neighborly friendship.
2. (Cooperative defense against injurious communistic activities--including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory.) Subject to further discussion.
3. Economic cooperation--by which China and Japan will proceed on the basis of non-discrimination in international commercial relations.
4. Mutual respect of sovereignty and territories.
5. Mutual respect for the inherent characteristics of each nation cooperating as good neighbors and forming a Far Eastern nucleus contributing to world peace.
6. Withdrawal of Japanese military and naval forces from Chinese territory and Chinese waters as promptly as possible and in accordance with an agreement to be concluded between Japan and China.
7. No annexation.
8. No indemnities.
9. Amicable negotiation in regard to Manchukuo.

(/nnx 2)

ANNEX AND SUPPLEMENT ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

II. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.

The position of the Government of the United States toward the military movement of conquest inaugurated by Mr. Hitler is set forth in a public address made by the Secretary of State on April 24, 1941. Some extracts which are directly in point and which are basic in relation to the entire situation are as follows:

"... As waged by them (the aggressor powers) this is not an ordinary war. It is a war of assault by these would-be conquerors, employing every method of barbarism, upon nations which cling to their right to live in freedom and which are resisting in self-defense. . . Such is the movement which is extending rapidly throughout the world.

"If experience shows anything, it shows that no nation anywhere has the slightest reason to feel that it will be exempted from attack by the invader, any more than, in a town overrun by bandits, the wealthiest citizen might expect to be free from attack.

"... Every thinking man can answer the question for himself by simply calling the roll of the wretched victims of world aggression who are now in a condition of semi-slavery, and whose every hope of again enjoying the blessings of civilization depends only on the defeat or failure of the movement of conquest. So it is in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Albania, Luxemburg, France, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia.

"... The conclusion is plain. Now, after some fifteen nations have lost everything that makes life worth living, it is high time that the remaining free countries should arm to the fullest extent and in the briefest time humanly possible and set for their self-preservation.

"... Events have shown beyond possible question that the safety of this hemisphere and of this country calls for resistance wherever resistance will be most effective. . . This policy means, in practical application, that . . . aid must reach its destination in the shortest of time and in maximum quantity. So--ways must be found to do this.

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" . . . Those nations that are making resistance are primarily seeking to save themselves, their homes and their liberties. Great Britain for instance is acting primarily for her own safety. The United States both in its direct defense effort and in the aid which it extends to the resisting nations is likewise acting primarily for its own safety. As safety for the nations that are offering resistance means security for us, aid to them is an essential part of our own defense. Every new conquest makes available to the aggressor greater resources for use against the remaining free peoples. Our aid to the resisting nations is not the mere crusading of a world benefactor. It is based on the definite knowledge that every free nation anywhere is a bastion of strength to all the remaining free peoples everywhere.

" . . . Those Americans who, in effect, are saying that a British defeat would not matter to us, signally overlook the fact that the resulting delivery of the high seas to the invader would create colossal danger to our own national defense and security. The breadth of the sea may give us a little time. It does not give us safety. Safety can only come from our ability, in conjunction with other peace-loving nations, to prevent any aggressor from attaining control of the high seas.

" . . . Some among us, doubtless with the best of intentions, still contend that our country need not resist until armed forces of an invader shall have crossed the boundary line of this hemisphere. But this merely means that there would be no resistance by the hemisphere, including the United States, until the invading countries had acquired complete control of the other four continents and of the high seas, and thus had obtained every possible strategic advantage, reducing us to the corresponding disadvantage of a severely handicapped defense. This is an utterly shortsighted and extremely dangerous view."

The foregoing statements make it clear that the attitude of the Government of the United States is one of resolve to take measures of self-defense in resistance to a movement, which, as has been made unequivocally clear by the acts and utterances of Hitler, is directed to world conquest by force from which no country and no area are excepted. This attitude is based upon a most fundamental consideration--that of the inalienable right of self-defense. The only other attitude this Government could assume would be the suicidal attitude of some fifteen countries in Europe which also were told, as our country is being told, that they would not be molested but that if they should undertake to resist beyond their own boundaries they would be charged with being

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aggressors and with having assumed the offensive. A similar course by this nation from the standpoint of effective defense against the Hitler movement of world conquest would be absurd, futile and suicidal from the standpoint of reasonable precautions for its safety.

In the light of the existing situation, Hitler is the one person who can promptly remove the necessity for efforts at effective self-defense by this country and other countries similarly situated, whereas for any other nation to request that the United States desist from any such resistance would in its actual effect range the country making such request on the side of Hitler and his movement of aggression by force. Hitler is therefore the person who should be addressed in support of peace, rather than those whom he is attacking for the purpose of bringing about their complete subjugation without color of law, or of right, or of humanity.

"Yes, it makes a difference who wins--the difference whether we stand with our backs to the wall with the other four continents against us and the high seas lost, alone defending the last free territories on earth--or whether we keep our place in an orderly world."

Foreign Relations II, pp. 446-451

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(二頁)

一九四二年(昭和十七年)五月三十一日日本大使野村三手交
セリタル米國提案、草案

(アミニトニ)一九四二年(昭和十七年)

五月三十一日

(非公式探究的且不拘束的)

米國政府及び日本政府、共同宣言ニ於テ表明セリタル
了解、遂ゲル爲、全般の協定、開始及び締結ニ関シ共
同責任ヲ負フモベタル。

近時西國間、疎遠ナラシメタル特殊原因ニ論及セル
コトナク西國政府、西國間、友好的感情ヲ悪化セシメタル
諸事件、再發防止シ予見ヲ得タル且不幸ナル結果
ヲ招カザル如ク之ヲ匡正スベキコトヲ衷心ヨリ希望スル。

共同、努力ヨリ米國及び日本、太平洋地域ニ於テ平
和確立及び維持ニ對シ効果的ニ貢獻シ又友好的了解
ヲ早急ニ遂ゲルコトヨリ今ヤ文明ヲ危殆ニ陷シトシツ
アル悲劇的混亂ヲ消散セズトモ阻止スルコト、我々、目下、
希望デアル。

斯ル決定的措置、爲ニ交渉、遲延、不適ニテ
消極的デアル從テ西國政府、西國政府、徳義
上及び行動上拘束スル全般的了解、遂ゲルニ充分ナル
方便ヲ講セラシムコトヲ希望スル。

斯ル了解、緊要ナル樞要問題、ニテ今ニ後日會
議ニ於テ審議可能、第三義的問題ヲ含メルモ、

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ト西國^{政府}信ズル。

西國政府、若之威權、事能並ニ態度、解明セラシ又、
改善セラシテ、西國政府、融和的関係到達シ得ベシ
ト期待スルモデアル。

即チ

(一) 米國及ビ日本、國際關係並ニ國家、性格、言ハル概念

(二) 歐洲戰爭ニ對シテ西國政府、態度

(三) 日本、中國間、平和的解決、行動

(四) 西國間、通商

(五) 太平洋地域ニ於テ西國、經濟活動

(六) 太平洋地域ニ於テ政治的安定、影響アル西國、政策

(七) フリリヤン群島、中立化

故ニ米國政府及ビ日本政府、以下、如キ相互了解
並ニ政策宣言ニ到達シタデアル。

(二頁)

(一) 米國及ビ日本、國際關係並ニ國家、性格、言ハル概念

西國政府、其國家ヲ永久和平確立並ニ西國間
相互的信頼及ビ協力、新時代ヲ齎スベキ方向指向セ
ラレテ平ル事ヲ確言スル。

西國政府、國家及ビ民族ガ家庭、各員、如ク一家庭
成ニ平和的手段ニ依リ規律セラシ且他人ノ為ニ之ヲ害ス
ベカラズルガ如ク彼等自身、為ニモ道德的、肉体的福祉、
追求ニ向テ平ル利害、相互關係ヲ以テ各自ガ平等、

No. 2.

權利ヲ享有シ責任ヲ認メルコトニ事、西國政府傳統的ニ且現在ニ於テモ變リテ概念アリ又確信アルコトヲ宣言シ、更ニ西國政府、他國家ニ對シテ壓迫又搾取ニ反對シテ責任アルコトヲ認メル。

西國政府國家、性格社會秩序並國民生活基礎タル道義固スル夫レ、傳統的概念依然トシ保存セラレ且平等、道義及ビ概念ト相合セザル外來思想又、アテオキ一ヨリ此カモ變更セザルコトヲ就テ確平タル決意ヲ有スル。

(二) 歐洲戰爭ニ對シテ西國政府ノ態度

日本政府、三國協長、目的ガ防衛的ナリニト又現在ニ於テモ同様アルコト、且目下歐洲戰ニ介入シ居ラザル國家、各戰ヲ防止セシムルコトヲ主張スル。協長、條項、自己防衛行為ヨリ介入ニ明ラカニ之ヲ適用セザルモ、アル。

米國政府、其、歐洲戰爭ニ對シテ態度、現在及ビ將來トモ專ラ防禦及ビ自衛、即チ國家ノ安全及ビ其防禦ニ固スル考慮ヨリ決定セラルコトヲ主張スル。

(三) 日本中國間、平和的解決ヘノ行動

日本政府、米國政府ニ對シテ日本政府、其、枠内ニ於テ中國政府ト、間ニ平和的解決、折衝ヲ提案スル全般條件ヲ通報セリ。而シテ日本政府、日英平等條件、善隣友好並ニ主權及ビ領土、相互尊重ニ固スル近衛

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原則及其實際的適用、調和^ニモ^ナリト公言セリ。依^テ米國大統領、中國政府、對^シ中國政府及^ニ日本政府、敵對行為、終結及^ニ平和的關係再開、爲相互^ニ有利^ニシテ受諾可能、基礎^ニ基^キ折衝^ヲ開始スベキトヲ提議スベシ。

(三頁)

註(第三章、前記草案、日本軍、中國領土内駐屯^ヲ始^メ兵產運動^ニ對^シ共同防衛、問題^ニシキ變^ニ計^ヲ議^ス要^スルモデアル)

(四) 兩國間、通商

現在、了解^ニ對^シ兩國政府、公武、承認^{アリタル}トキ、米國及^ニ日本、夫^レ保有^シ且^ニ兩國、孰^レカ必要^トスル物資^ヲ相互^ニ供給^スベキトヲ確約^ス。更^ニ兩國政府、以前、日米、通商航海條約^ニ確立^{セラル}シ正當、貿易關係^ヲ再開^{スル}ニ必要^{ナル}手段^ヲ講^スルニ同意^ス。兩國政府、新通商條約^ヲ希望^ス時、之^ヲ可及^ク速^ニ交渉^シ之通序^ヲ、繼續^ニヨリ締結^スベシ。

(五) 太平洋區域^ニ於^{ケル}兩國、經濟活動

太平洋區域^ニ於^{ケル}日本、活動及^ニ米國、活動、平和的手段^ニヨリ且^ニ國際通商關係^ニ於^{ケル}無差別、原則則^リ行^ハルベシト、茲^ニ爲^サル相互^ニ誓約^ニ基^キ日本政府及^ニ米國政府、各自、經濟保全及^ニ發展^ニ必要^{ナル}天然資源(例^ヘ石油^ニ錫^ニ等)、通商^ニ供給^ス日本及^ニ米國、無差別^ニ求^メ得^ルニ據相互^ニ協

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カス事ヲ約ス。

(六) 太平洋地域ニ於テ政治的安定ニ影響有ル西國政策
日本政府並ニ米國政府、比、解基礎ヲ爲ス支配
的政策、太平洋地域ニ於テ平和ヲアルコト、西國政府、
根本的目的、太平洋地域ニ於テ平和維持及保全ニ
對シ共同、努力ヲヨリ貢獻セトスルコト、又西國政府、孰
シモ上述地域ニ於テ領土的主張ハナキコトヲ宣言ス。

(七) フリッジ之群島、中立化

日本政府、フリッジ、獨立達成セラル時、米國
政府、於スル時、同政府ト其、中立化、タノ、條約締
結ニ同意シ、欣然交渉ヲ開始スルモノトヲ宣言ス。

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四頁

(附屬書一)

日本政府側、附屬書及補足書

(三) 日本中國關係、平和的解決ニ對シテ行動

上記、即チ於テ言及セラルル其基本的條件次、如シ

一、善隣友好

二、有害ナル共產主義、活動ニ對シテ共同所衛——日本
軍、中國領土内駐セリ合ニ更ニ討議ヲ要スル

キース

三、(經濟的協力)——之ニ依リ日華兩國國際通

商關係ニ於テ互ニ互別、基礎ニ基キ進ム(キース)

四、主權及領土、相互尊重

五、善隣人トシテ協カレ合ヒ世界平和ニ貢獻スル

一、中核ヲ形成スル國家トシテ各、國有特徴ヲ相

互ニ尊重スルニト。(次頁ニ續ク)

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- 六、日本陸海軍、中國領土及び領海ヨリノ可及的速カナル且日華間ニ締結セラルベキ協約ニ準據スル撤退
- 七、領土ノ不併合
- 八、不賠償
- 九、滿洲國ニ関スル友好的交渉

(附屬書二)

米國政府側、附屬書並ニ補足書

(三) 歐洲戦争ニ対スル兩國政府ノ態度

ヒットラー氏ニヨリ始メラルタル征服的軍事行動ニ對スル米國政府ノ立場ハ一九四一年(昭和十六年)四月ニ西日、國務長官ニヨル公開演説ニ於テ述ベラル。直接要點ヲ衝キ且全局面ト、關係ニ於テ基本的ナル拔萃ヲ以下ニ示ス

「……………彼等(侵略國)ニヨリ遂行セラルヤルモノハ、普通ノ戦争デハナシ。是ハ是等ノ征服者タラントスル者が自由ニ生活スル權利ヲ守リ自衛、爲抵抗シツツアル國家ニ対ニテ凡エル野蛮的手段ヲ用ヒテ行ハントスル強襲戰デアリ。……………斯ル動向ハ今ヤ急速ニ世界ニ擴グテヤル。

NO. 7

「經驗」が何カラ示スモノナラバソレハ匪賊ニ非ルサレタ野ニ於テ最裕福ナル市民モ其ノ襲撃ヨリ免レトナリ期得アルガ如ク如何ナル國家モ侵略者ノ攻撃ヨリ免

Doc 220c(29).

除せしむるモノト考ふべき理由、毫モナク示スモ
ノデアリ。

／＼頁／

「……思考力アリ者、誰デモ今ヤ半奴隷狀
態ニテリ、再ビ文明ノ福祉ヲ享有セントスル望ヲ
全ク此ノ征服運動ノ敗北又ニ失敗ニミ賴ル世界
侵略ノ憐レト犠牲者、哀呼ヲトシテ見ル、直ニ此
ノ間ニ對スル答ヲ自ラ爲シ得ルデアラカ。『オーストリ
リア』『チエッコ』『スロヴァキヤ』『ポーランド』『バルカン』
『フィンランド』『オランダ』『ベルギー』『ドイツ』『ルクセンブ
ルク』『アイルランド』『ルーマニア』『アイスランド』『ポーランド』『ユー
グロスラヴィヤ』
又ニ然リテアル。

「……諸論ハ明白ナリ。約十五ヶ國ノ國民ガ人生トシテ生甲斐
トシムル凡テノモノハ今ニ將ニ滅亡スル自由諸國ノ國民
ガ人間トシテ觀ル限リ十分ニソコト短期間ノ中ニ武装ヲ遂
グ自己保存ノ爲ニ行給スル時ナリ。

「……或行ハ此ノ半滅亡ニ此ノ國ノ安全ガ前途ガ最も危
険ナル點ニ於テモ抵抗スルヲ毎ヨ要求ス
ルモノナリコトヲ疑ハ餘地モナク發明シタ。……此ノ政策ハ
ノ、實際的適用ニ於テ……提議ノ最も短時日ニ最大量
ニ目標ニ達セズニ至リ又コトヲ意味スル。故ニソコノ爲メ
其ノ爲メ見出サズナリ又。

No. 26

Doc. 220c(29)

「……抵抗ミツ、アル國々ハ第一ニ彼等自身ヲ彼等ノ家庭ヲ
彼等ノ自由ヲ救ハントミテナル。例ヘ、英國ハ第一ニ
自ラノ安全ノ爲ニ戦フテナル。米國モソ、直接防禦努力ニ
於テモ又抵抗ミツ、アル國々ニ対スル援助ニ於テモ同様ニ
先ズ第一ニ其ノ自己ノ安全ノ爲ニ戦フテナル。抵抗
ミテナル國々ノ安全ハ我々ノ保全ヲ意味スルハ故ニ、彼等ニ対
スル援助ハ又我々自ラノ防禦ノ重要ナル一部分ナル。新タ
ナル征服が成功スル度ニ侵略者ハ残存スル自由諸國ニ対シ
利用スル爲ニ其ノ大キナ資源ヲ獲得スル。抵抗ミツ
アル國民ニ対スル我々ノ援助ハ單ニ世界ノ因ハ救ヒ運
動デハナク、ソレノ場所、如何ヲ問ハズ凡テ、自由國家ハ残
存スル自由國民ニトシテ力強ク接壁デアルト、確乎タル認
識ニ基キテナル。

「……英國ノ敗北ハ要スルニ我等ニ何ノ影響モナシト
言フ米國人ハ英國ノ敗北、結果、公海が侵略者ノ手ニ渡ル
トミテ我等ハ我々自身ノ國防及ビ安全ニ重大ナル危險ヲモ
タニスモ、テアルト言フ事實ヲ甚ダシク見接シテナル。海
ノ廣サハ我々ニ對シ、時ヲ與ケテ果シルカモ知ラナク。併シ
ソレハ我々ニ安全ヲ與ケヌ。安全ハ侵略者が公海ヲ支配スル
ヲ他ノ平和愛好國民ト提擧ミテ防グ我々ノ能力ニヨリテ
ノミ保ツルル。テナル。

No. 9

No. 11

Doc 220c (29)

現下時局ニ鑑ミヒトラー「此、國及他、同様、位置ニテ爾國及ニヨリナ
ル効果的自衛手段ヲ採ル努力、必要ヲ直チニ除キ得ル唯一ノ人デアル。
之ニ又テ他、國家ガ米國ガ斯ル對抗手段ヲ止ム様要ホスルコトハ事實
上斯ル要ホフテス國家ガヒトラー「及ビ、暴力ヨリ侵略運動ニ味方スルコト
ニル。從フテ法モ權利モ人道モ無視ニテ完全ニ屈從セシメルガ爲自的
デヒトラー「ガ攻撃ニツツアル人々ヨリモ寧ロヒトラー「自身ニ對シ平和支持
ノ爲ニ呼ビ掛ケルベキニテ。
然リ、誰ガ勝ヲヒメルカハ大キナ相違ヲモタラス我々が他、四大陸ヲ敵トニ
公海ヲ失ヒ地球上ニ獨リ殘サシ「最後ノ自由ノ領土ヲ爭ルカ又ハ秩序
ヲ世界ニ我々所ヲ維持ニ得ルカ相違アル。

外交關係(二) 四四六—四五二頁

Doc. No. 220C(30)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 175

AMERICAN STATEMENT HANDED TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR
(NOBUARA) ON MAY 31, 1941

Unofficial, Exploratory
and Without Commitment

(WASHINGTON) May 31, 1941.

ORAL EXPLANATION FOR SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS TO THE JAPANESE DRAFT

Introductory statement.

A few minor changes have been made in phraseology with a view to clarifying the meaning.

In the list of points enumerated on page two of the Japanese draft, the title of Section III has been altered to conform more accurately to the subject matter, the word "Southwestern" has been omitted from point numbered five and, in view of the new subject matter under point six (for explanation see infra), part of the subject matter under point six in the Japanese draft has been incorporated in an additional section, the title of which is therefore listed, and part of the subject matter in Section VI of the Japanese draft has been omitted (for explanation see infra).

I. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of notions.

The first paragraph has been omitted in as much as the statement of fact is a self-evident one.

In the third paragraph of the Japanese draft there has been substituted for the word "backward" the word "other" in order to maintain consistency with principles relating to equality of races and peoples.

II. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.

The first paragraph of the Japanese draft has been omitted in order to avoid any implication of inconsistency with statements made by the President to the effect that the present is not an opportune time for the American Government to endeavor to bring about peace in Europe.

To the second paragraph of the Japanese draft a new sentence has been added to emphasize the aspect of self-defense.

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The third paragraph has been omitted in as much as the text of the Tripartite Pact has been published and no purpose would appear to be served by express reference to any of its provisions.

The fourth paragraph of the Japanese draft has been revised to emphasize the protective and self-defense character of the attitude of the United States toward the European hostilities.

A statement in the Annex and Supplement on the part of the Government of the United States contains an elaboration of this Government's viewpoint toward the military movement of conquest inaugurated by Chancellor Hitler.

III. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

As already stated, the title has been altered to describe more accurately the contents.

The statement in the Japanese draft has been rewritten to keep the underlying purport and at the same time to avert raising questions which do not seem fundamental to the basic subject and which are controversial in character and might present serious difficulties from the point of view of the United States.

The statement in the Japanese Annex and Supplement in regard to this section has also been revised in a few particulars in conformity with the considerations mentioned in the preceding paragraph. In addition, point numbered three in regard to economic cooperation has been rephrased so as to make it clear that China and Japan intend to follow in their economic relations the principle of nondiscrimination in international commercial relations; a principle to which it is understood the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have long subscribed and which principle forms the foundation of the commercial policy of the United States. As it is assumed that the term "troops" in point numbered six is meant to include all armed forces, the language of this point has been slightly rephrased to avoid possible ambiguity.

As already stated, the question relating to communistic activities, including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory, is subject to further discussion.

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IV. Commerce between both nations.

A statement is included in the Annex and Supplement on the part of the United States clarifying the point that as a temporary measure during the present international emergency it is understood that each country may restrict export of commodities which it needs for its own purposes of security and self-defense.

V. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.

The language of this section has been rephrased to make the provisions thereof applicable equally to the United States and to Japan.

VI. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

This section has been revised to make it consist of a clear-cut statement of the fundamental purpose of the understanding. The thought in mind is to give emphasis to this purpose so that the document may speak for itself on this all-important subject.

The statement of fundamental purpose has been assigned a section by itself in order that it may gain added emphasis.

The statement in the Japanese draft in regard to the Philippine Islands has been dealt with in a new section bearing number VII.

The statement in regard to Japanese immigration has been omitted in view of the established position of the United States that the question of immigration is a domestic matter. For that reason, to attempt to include a statement on this subject would stand in the way of the underlying purposes of the agreement.

VII. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

The phraseology of this section has been altered so as to bring it into conformity with the language of the Tydings-McFuffie Act, approved March 24, 1934.

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Page 4

Br. Ex. 175

Addendum

In view of the traditional policy of the United States and various practical considerations in the United States, important difficulties would be presented should the Government of the United States endeavor to keep secret the understanding under reference together with its annexes. This Government could probably arrange to keep the understanding secret for a period of a few weeks, during which time it believes that the two Governments should work out procedures covering the scope, character and timing of the announcement of the understanding and of at least the definitive substance thereof.

Foreign Relations II, pp. 451 - 454

一九四一年 五月三十一日 日本大使(野村)ニ奉交する
ル米國側聲明・非公式隨査的且金買ニ附記せる。

(華盛頓)一九四一年(昭和十六年)五月三十一日

日本側草案ニ対スル修正提案、口頭投函
後備聲明

意義ヲ明確ならしめたる目的ヲ以テ如何ニ多少、詳細ナリ
訂正が行へり。

日本側草案第二頁ニ列挙せしむる諸項、其ニ於テ
第三部ナル標題ノ一層精確ニ論題、事項ニ適合せ
しむべく変更せしむ所南支、露、五、著号ヲ附せしむる
項ヨリ削除せしむ所ニテ第六項下、所論題、事項ニ鑑
ミ(下記、説明参照)日本側草案第六項下、論題、事
項、一部追加、部ニ編入せしむ其、標題ノ從フテ表中ニ
記載せしむ亦日本側草案第六部中、論題、事項、一部
ノ削除せしむ

(下記、説明参照)

一、國際關係及ニ國家、性格ニ対スル合衆國及ニ日本、
觀念。該事項ノ論述ノ自明ノモノナルヲ以テ第一項ノ削
除せしむ。

諸民族諸種族平等ニ関スル原則ト、一致ヲ保タシガ
タメ日本側草案第三項ニ於ケル「米國」ナル語ノ「他」
ナル語ニ取替へしむ。

No. 1

二、政略戦争ニ対スル両政府、態度

現在、米國政府ニ取り歐洲ニ平和ヲモタラスベシ努カスベキ好機ニ非スト、大統領聲明ニ不一致トナルコトヲスベテ避ケニガタメ日本側草案第一項ノ削除セラル。

自衛狀況ヲ強調セニガタメ日本側草案第二項ニ新ナル一文章が添加セラル。三國條約、原文が公ニセリ其、明文規定ノ何ヲ引用スルモ何等ノ益ナシト思惟セリルヲ以テ第三項ノ削除セラル。

歐洲戰爭ニ対スル合衆國ノ態度が防禦的且自衛的性格ヲ有スル旨強調セニガタメ日本側草案第四項ノ改訂セラル。合衆國政府創附屬書及ニ補遺中、一聲明ハヒトラー總統ニ依リ開始セラル征服、タメ、軍事的行動ニ対スル該政府ノ見解、敷衍ヲ含ム。

三國條約、平和的協定ニ対スル行動

既ニ述ベラルが如ク内容ヲ一層精確ニ表現セニガタメ標題ノ変更セラル。

裏面ニ潜ム趣意ヲ捕捉シ同時ニ根本的論題ニ取り基本的ナリスト思惟セリ且其、性質上論争、的トナリ且又合衆國側見解ノ定ヨリ見テ重大ナル困難ヲ醸スヤモ知ラザル問題惹起ヲ避ケニガタメ日本側草案中、聲明ノ書改メラル。

日本側附屬書及ニ補遺中此、部令ニ關スル聲明モ亦前項ニ述ベラル考處ニ準シ若干、細部ニ於テ改訂セラル。更ニ日本及ニ中華民國ノ其、經濟的關係ニ於テ日本政府及ニ中國政府が長ク保持シ来リシコトヲ解セラル

ル原則、且令衆國商業政策、基礎ヲ成ス原則タル國際商業關係ニ於ケル無差別ノ原則ニ從ヒ意向ナル事ヲ明カニセシガタメ經濟的協同ニ關スル案ニト番号ヲ附シテ項目ハ其ノ語句ヲ改メシタ。

第六ノ番号ヲ附シタル項目中「軍隊」ノ語ハ凡テノ武裝兵力ヲ含ムコトヲ意味スルモノト推定セラル、ヲ以テアリ得ベキ不明瞭ヲ避ケシガタメ此ノ項ノ語句ハ多少改メシタ。

既述ノ如ク中國領土内ニ日本軍隊ヲ駐屯セシムル件ヲ含ム共產主義運動ニ關スル問題ハ以後ノ討論ニ譲リシタ。

四、西國間ノ商業

目下ノ國際的危機ノ間、一時的措置トシテ各國ハ自國ノ保全自衛ノ目的ニ要スル商品ノ輸出ヲ制限シ得ルト解セシムル旨ヲ明セシ一聲明ガ令衆國創附島書ニハ附屬ニ包含セラシタ。

五、太平洋水域ニ於ケル兩國ノ經濟活動

此ノ部分ノ語句ハ其ノ規定ヲ令衆國タリ日本ニ等シク適用シ得ルガ如クセシタメ改メシタ。

六、太平洋水域ニ於ケル政治的安定ニ影響アル兩國ノ政策

此ノ部分ハソレヲ諒解トシテ基本的目的ニ即セル明確ナル聲明トナサシガタメ改訂セラシタリ。其ノ意圖ハ本文書ガ此ノ全ノ重要ナル論題ニ就キ自ラノタメ辯シ得ルガ如ク此ノ目的ヲ強調スルニ在ル

No. 3 基本的目的、聲明ハソレヲ一層強調セシガタメソレヲ一ノ部ガ割リ當テシタリ。

比律賓諸島ニ関スル日本側草案中、聲明ノ第七十ニ番目
ヲ有スル所ナリ部ニ於テ取扱ハス。

日本移民ニ関スル聲明、移民問題ヲ國內問題トナス合衆國、確
定セル態度ニ鑑ミ、削除セリ。此ノ理由ニ依リ此ノ問題ニ
就キテ、聲明ヲ包含セシメ、トスル企テハ協定、基礎目
的ヲ缺ナルモノナリ。

セ比律賓諸島、中止セ

此ノ部令ノ撤回ハ、一九三四年(昭和九年)三月二十四日
可決セリ。又、一九三四年、三月二十四日、議決ト一致セリ。
イカクモ変更セリ。

附記

合衆國、傳統的政策モ、合衆國內、各種實際的考慮ニ鑑ミ、其
合衆國政府ニシテ參照文ニ其、附屬書ニ於ケル諒解ヲ
敘密トスルノ努メ、カ重大ナル困難ハ惹起セリトナリ。
又本政府ハ、形ニテ諒解ヲ數週間、期間秘密ニスルノ範圍
ニ得ルナリ。本政府ハ、其、期間中ニ兩政府ハ諒解ノ、
少クモ其、確定的内容、範圍、性格及發表、時期
ニ關ル手續ヲ作成スルナリト信ス。

外交關係 二四五—四五四頁

Document No. 220 C (31)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 176

AMERICAN INFORMAL AND UNOFFICIAL ORAL STATEMENT HANDED
TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (NOMURA) ON MAY 31, 1941

The Government of the United States will at some appropriate stage prior to any definitive discussion talk over in strict confidence with the Chinese Government the general subject matter involved in the discussions, especially as it relates to China.

Document No. 220 C (31)

Foreign Relations, II, p. 454

Br. Ex. 176

AMERICAN INFORMAL AND UNOFFICIAL ORAL STATEMENT HANDED
TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (NOMURA) ON MAY 31, 1941

The Government of the United States will at some appropriate stage prior to any definitive discussion talk over in strict confidence with the Chinese Government the general subject matter involved in the discussions, especially as it relates to China.

ex 1080

doc 220c(31)

一九四三年(昭和十八年)五月三十一日日本大使(野村)に手交された米國の非正式且非公式口頭
聲明

合衆國政府は如何なる決定的討議にも先
立つて或る適當な段階に於いてその討議に含ま
れる一般問題、殊にそれと支那に關係する所の
事項を極秘裡に支那政府と相談するであらう。

外交關係ニ 四五四頁

Ex. 1881?
(1081?)

Doc. No. 220 C (32)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 177

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Excerpts

(WASHINGTON) June 2, 1941.

The Ambassador of Japan came to my hotel apartment at his request.

...

I then very slowly and deliberately asked the Ambassador whether it was his considered judgment that his Government seriously and earnestly desired to enter into a settlement, for peace and non-discriminatory commercial relations and friendship generally in the Pacific area. He promptly replied that that was his judgment. I remarked that, in the light of the loud statements which Matsuoka and others were daily making, the question which I propounded was sharply raised, and that one was forced back to the inquiry of whether Japan really is seeking this sort of settlement, or whether she is only seeking a way to get out of China, and otherwise to go forward with methods and practices entirely contrary to the principles which would have to underlie a settlement establishing peace, non-discriminatory commerce and fair friendly relations in the Pacific area. The Ambassador reiterated his view that an earnest and fair settlement was desired.

.....

Foreign Relations II, pp. 454-455

ex-1081

Doc 220c (32)

國務長官ニ依ル覺書(華盛頓)
一九四二年六月二日
拔萃
日本大使、彼、願ニ依リ、秘、ホテルニ来タ。……ソコテ
予、大使ニ日本政府ガ 太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和、
無差別貿易関係及友誼ヲ自途トスル取極ヲナス
フト熱心且眞面目ニ希望言ハスト、大受、慎重ニ
判断アルカド、非常ニ緩ミ且入念ニ尋ネタ。
彼、即座、彼、判断アルト答テ、予、松岡、他、者ガ
日母ニ聲ヲ大ニミナシ、アル聲明ニ照シ、先ニ予ガ提
起セル問題、非常ニ問題トナシ、並ニ吾人、日本、
眞ニ此種、解決ヲ求メテ、若、軍ニ支那カラ脱スル
道ヲ求メ、カ或、太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和、無差別貿易
及公正ナル友好関係樹立取極、基礎トナルベキ原
則ニ全ク背馳スル方法ト実行トラ、以テ前進スル道ヲ探
ニテ居ルニ過ヤカト云フ、質問ヲ答テ、又ニ云フ、
言ニテ、オ、大使、眞面目且公正ニ解決ヲ希望ス、
眞實見解返シ述ベタ。

外交関係Ⅱ 四四一—四五五頁